To the Madbar and Back Again

Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C.A. Macdonald

Edited by

Laïla Nehmé
Ahmad Al-Jallad

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

PART 2
Archaeology, History and Religion

CHAPTER 22

The Visit of Mālik bin Muʿāwiyah, King of Kindah and Maḏḥiǧ to the Himyarite King Šammar Yuharʿiš in Maʾrib

Mohammed Maraqten

Introduction

Our Sabaic inscription bears the siglum MB 2006 I-54 (fig. 2) and records an offering of a bronze statuette dedicated to the Sabaean god Almaqah at the Awām temple/Maḥram Bilqīs, near Maʾrib, Yemen (Maraqten 2015: 109–135).

Item Description: Base of a statuette, now missing, inscribed on one face. The inscription, canted slightly downwards and is engraved between double, lightly-incised horizontal double-lines. The face of the stone is polished; the top surface, where the statuette would have been attached, is broken away and the first line is mostly lost. The lower left corner is broken away and some parts of the stone edges are slightly damaged. The text is intact apart from few lost letters in the first line. Although the upper part of the inscription is partly lost, its reconstruction, as indicated in the transcription, is possible with reference to line 11.

This 14 lines inscription has been discovered during the ninth AFSM season, 2006 in the Annex of the Awām temple and is reused in the pavement. The measurements of this inscribed block are as follows: 35×22 cm; letter height: 1.5×1.7 cm. Almaqah curved club symbol occurs at beginning of line one and two; the upper part is broken. Present location of the inscription is the Awām Temple and still *in situ* (fig. 1, 2).

MB 2006 I-54

Transcription

1. [*mlkm / bn / mʿw*]*yt / mlk*
2. *kdt / wmḏḥgm / hqny*
3. *ʾlmqhwṯhwnbʿlʾwm /*
4. *ṣlmn / ḏḏhbn / bkn / mẓʾ*

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004357617_023



FIGURE 1 *Location of the inscription* MB *2006* I*-54*

5. *wnfṣ / ls^{1}tlmn / byd / mr*
6. *ʾhmw / s^{2}mr / yhrʿs^{2} / mlk*
7. *s^{1}bʾ / wḏrydn / bn / ys^{1}rm*
8. *yhnʿm / mlk / s^{1}bʾ / wḏryd*
9. *n / bhgrn / mryb / wlwzʾ /*
10. *ʾlmqhṯhwnbʿlʾwm / ẖm*
11. *r / ʿbdhw / mlkm / bn / mʿwyt*
12. *ḥẓy / wrḍw / mrʾhmw / s^{2}m*
13. *r / yhrʿs^{2} / mlk / s^{1}bʾ / wḏr*
14. *ydn / bʾlmqhṯhwnbʿlʾwm*

Translation

1. (Mālikum son of Muʿāw)iyat king
2. of Kiddat and Maḏḥigum has dedicated
3. to Almaqah Ṯahwān, Lord of Awām,
4. the bronze statue when he marched
5. and hurried to gain security by the performance of loyalty with
6. his lord Šammar Yuharʿiš, king
7. of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān, son of Yāsirum
8. Yuhanʿim, king of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān



FIGURE 2 *The inscription of Mālikum bin Muʿāwiyat* (MB 2006 I-54)

9. in the city of Ma'rib. And may
10. Almaqah Ṯahwān, Lord of Awām continue to grant
11. for his servant Mālikum son of Muʿāwiyat
12. the favour and goodwill of their lord Šammar
13. Yuharʿiš, king of Saba' and Ḏū-Raydān.
14. By Almaqah Ṯahwān, Lord of Awām

Commentary

The restoration of the reading of the first line as *mlkm bn mʿyt* is certain since the name of this king is attested in line 11. This king occurs for the first time in the inscriptions and he is not known from other sources in particular from Qaryat Al-Faw inscriptions.

The text mentions the title of Mālikum son of Muʿāwiyat as *mlk kdt w-mḏḥgm* "king of Kiddat and Maḏḥigum". This title is known from other Sabaean inscriptions which mentions *mlk^{9} m bn bd mlk kdt w-mḏḥgm* "Mālikum bin Budd, king of Kiddat and Maḏḥigum" (CIAS 39.11/o 2 n° 8/8–9 = Ja 2110/8–9).—The writing of *kdt* (< *kndt*) for Kindah is the usual form, which mentioned also in other inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs (e.g., Ja 576+Ja 577/2, *passim*; Ja 665/2, *passim*; Ry 506/4,5 = Murayghān 1/4,5; CIAS 39.11/o 2 n° 8 = Ja 2110; AlSekaf 1985: 156–159).—The tribe *mḏḥgm*, or as it is known from the Arab sources as Maḏḥiǧ is also known from several inscriptions (Ja 665/2; Sh 32; AlSekaf 1985: 169 f.). Both tribes: *kdt* and *mḏḥgm* occur together in several inscriptions (i.g., Ir 32/2; Ja 660/2; Ja 665/2; 1028/7; ʿAbadān 1/28; Ma'sal 2/28 = Ry 510/28).

The verb *mẓʾ* means "go, proceed, march" (Sab.Dict., 89; Maraqten 2014: 154).—The verb *nfṣ* means "march, march off" (Sab.Dict., 93). This verb could be understood as "to rush, hurry, quick"; see Arabic *nafaṣa bi-l-kalimati: ʾatā bi-hā sarīʿan* "He pronounced it (i.e. the word) quickly" (az-Zabīdī, Taǧ al-ʿArūs, 18/186). Hitherto, this verb *nfṣ* is attested only in military context in the Sabaic inscriptions of the Awām temple (Ir 13/27; J 631/22).—*B-hgrn / mryb*: The inscription reports that the visit of Mālikum son of Muʿāwiyat took place in the city of Ma'rib. Of significance is the writing form of the city of Ma'rib as *mryb*, which is not to be expected in this period and usually is written as *mrb*. *Mryb* is the common writing of the name of the city of Ma'rib in the early Sabaean period, until the end of the 3rd century CE. After that, it is no longer mentioned as *mryb* and we have only *mrb*, Mārib. This name is written in Classical Arabic as Ma'rib (Müller 1989: 559–567; Maraqten 2008: 107–144).

In our text the formula: *l-s^1tlmn b-yd mr ^{6} ʾhmw* is an expression of peaceful loyalty of the king Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat, which has been confirmed by the visit of this king in Ma'rib to the Himyarite king Šammar Yuharʿiš.—The infinitive *s^1tlmn* is built from verbal form *ftʿl*, which derives from the S^1LM "sue for peace" (see Sab. Dict., 126), cf. the Sabaic phrase *s^1tlm ^{6}b-ʾlhn* "gain security with (*b-*) deity" (Kortler 1/5–6). In general the verbal form *s^1tlm* means "to look for peace; gain security".

Accurately, the Sabaic term *yd* means "hand, main; fealty, loyalty" (Sab. Dict., 167; Sima 2001: 71–79) and in our text is an expression for loyalty. The

term *yd* occurs in a phrase as *ʾẖḏ yd-k* "to take your hand (of Almaqah), i.e. loyalty" (Zayd ʿInān 11/9–10). The phrase *nzʿydm* means "withdraw allegiance" (Ja 577/8); cf. also *hʿd + yd* "give back, restore loyalty to" (Sab. Dict., 22). The phrase *l-s¹tlmn b-yd mr* [6] *ʾhmw* in our text can be understood as follows: "in order to perform loyalty for his lord". Apparently, the king Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat performed a number of loyalty measures during his visit to Maʾrib among them the dedication of an offering to the god Almaqah at the Awām temple.

Qaryat al-Faw in the Recently Discovered Sabaean Inscriptions at the Awām Temple

The earliest history of *qryt ḏt khlm*/Qaryat Dhāt Kāhilum, modern Qaryat al-Faw is obscure. Qaryat al-Faw was the royal headquarters of the realm of Kindah and is located in Wādī ad-Dawāsir on the edge of the Empty Quarter on the old trade route ca. 300 KM north east of Nağrān. This trade route is preceding towards the Arabian Gulf. Qaryat Dhāt Kāhilum seems to have flourished between the 3rd century BCE and the end of the 3rd century CE. Although Qaryat al-Faw was known to scholars, little was known about the history of the site until the excavation of the King Saud University, Riyadh under the direction of A. Al-Ansāry at the beginning of the seventies of the last century and continued for several years (Al-Ansari 1982; Al-Anṣārī & Ṭayrān 2008: 97–106; Al-Ansari 2010: 311–317). The archaeological discoveries at Qaryat al-Faw identified this site was *qryt ḏt khlm*/Qaryat Dhāt Kāhilum that mentioned in the Sabaean inscriptions of the Awām temple/Maḥram Bilqīs. This name, which relates to the site, was the main local god *khlm*/Kāhilum. The city god Kāhilm is known from several inscriptions discovered in Qaryat al-Faw itself as well as in graffiti from the surrounding area (Robin 1996: 665–714; al-Anṣāry & Ṭayrān 2008: 97–106). The name *qryt ḏt khlm* seems to have been given by the Sabaeans.

In the inscriptions discovered in Qaryat al-Faw itself it was called: *qryt, qryt ṭlw* (DAM 302 F 8 /7, 10); *qryt khl* and the term *gntn* seems to have been a designation of the Oasis of Qaryat al-Faw (DAM 302 F 8/6; al-Anṣāry & Ṭayrān 2008: 97–106).

Dozens of inscriptions written in the South Arabian Musnad script have been discovered at Qaryat al-Faw (Al-Ansari 1982: 24f., 2010, Robin 2001: 509–577; Kropp 1992: 55–67; DAM 3 F 12; DAM 2 F 12; DAM 262 F 8; DAM 302 F 8; NMR 3 F 23; NMR 887). Some of these inscriptions are clearly Minaic and give us good data about the trade relation with Mesopotamia or Syria-Palestine especially with Gaza (DAM 262 F 8; DAM 302 F 8). However, most of the epigraphic material

of Al-Faw is written in a north Arabic tongue and in Musnad script (Al-Ansari 1982; Beeston 1979: 1–6; Macdonald 2008: 467 f.; Robin 2001: 509–577; Al-Jallad 2014: 1–21). The question of the language of the Qaryat al-Faw inscriptions is still depending on preliminary reports of the excavators of the site. However, the publication of the discovered inscriptions at al-Faw would help to clarify this question (Beeston 1979: 1–6; Robin 2001: 509–577; Al-Anṣārī & Ṭayrān 2008: 97–106).

Sabaean inscriptions contain virtuous data relating to Qaryat al-Faw and Kindah, and give light on the relations to ancient Yemeni kingdoms, which were occasionally hostile as it is mentioned in several inscriptions from the Awām temple/Maḥram Bilqīs, near Ma'rib. Qaryat al-Faw is mentioned in the Sabaean inscriptions of the 3rd century CE from the Awām primarily as *qyrtm ḏt khlm* or as *qrytm* and *qrytn* (Robin 1996: 665–714; al-Anṣāry & Ṭayrān 2008: 97–106).

The uncovered inscriptions at the Awām temple have been a significant source for studying the history of this city. Until the recently excavations of the AFSM at the Awām temple Qaryat Dhāt Kāhilum was known from several Sabaic inscriptions discovered by the AFSM in the 1950es (Ja 634 = MB 2004 I-68; Ja 635 = MB 2004 I-63; Ja 641 = MB 2004 I-50; Ja 665 = MB 2004 I-60; Ja 576 / 2; see also Ja 2110/ 8–9).

Two military expeditions are mentioned against Qaryat Ḍāt Kāhilum carried out by the two kings: ʾĪlšaraḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother Ya'zul Bayn (ca. 236–260 CE; Ja 576; Ja 2110).

The newly discovered Sabaean inscriptions during the recent AFSM excavations (1998–2006) mention Qaryat Ḏāt Kāhilum in relation with military expeditions carried out to central Arabia by the Sabaean and Ḥimyarite rulers.—*qryt ḏt khlm* is mentioned several times in the recently discovered epigraphic evidence at the Awām Temple/Maḥram Bilqīs (MB 2006 I-24; MB 2005 I-43; MB 2006 I-54) by the AFSM in the last nine seasons (1998–2006).

Two military expeditions were carried out by the Sabaean king Šāʿirum Awtar (ca. 210–230 CE) against Qaryat Ḏāt Kāhilum. The first one is recorded by the military leaders of this king made dedications to Almaqah lord of Awām from the booty that they obtained from Qaryat Ḏāt Kāhilum (MB 2005 I-43). This 14-lines inscription was discovered recently in the excavations of the AFSM in the season 2005 and reused in the pavement of the Annex.

The second inscription (MB 2006 I-24) contains 32 lines and was recorded by a military leader of the king Sabaean king Šāʿirum Awtar and the Qayls of the Šaʿb of Tanʿumum and Tanʿamatum. It mentions that they dedicated to Almaqah Ṯahwān lord of Awām an offering of a bronze statue which they obtained as a booty from Qaryatum Ḏāt Kāhilum.

Recent epigraphic discoveries of the AFSM at the Awām give us more lights on the relation of the kingdoms of Sabaʾ as well as of the Ḥimyarite kingdom with Central and North Arabia (e.g. MB 2004 I-127; MB 2004 I-163; 2005 I-104).

The Significance of the Inscription the King Mālikum bin Muʿāwiyat

Our newly discovered inscription mentions the king Mālikum bin Muʿāwiyat, hitherto unknown king of the Kingdom of Kiddat/Kindah. This kingdom was a periphery state that emerged around the South Arabian kingdoms of Maʿīn and Sabaʾ and later on the border of the Kingdom of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān

possibly in the first century BCE (Retsö 2003: 557–563; Robin 2012: 59–129, Bukharin 2009: 64–80). Kindah played a central role in political, military and cultural issues in the pre-Islamic era and continued in the early Islamic era (Shahid 1986: 118–120; Lecker 1994: 333–356).

According to the information gained from the inscriptions, Qaryat al-Faw was the capital of the kingdom of Kindah and Qaḥṭān possibly flourished from the first century to the second half of the 3rd Century CE. One king bear the title *ḥgr bn ʿmrm mlk kdt* "Ḥuğr son of ʿĀmirum, king of Kiddat" ocuurs in a graffito found in Nafūd Musammā, north east of Jibāl Kawkab, near Najrān (Gajda 1996: 65–73). The rulers of this kingdom bear in the early period the title *mlk kdt w-qhṭn* "King of Kinda and Qaḥṭān" (e.g. DAI Barʾān 2000–2001; Robin 2012: 59–129). These are known from local discovered inscriptions at the site Qaryat al-Faw itself and from the Sabaean inscriptions discovered at the Awām temple (Beeston 1986: 120). More light has been given recently on the chronology of the kings of Kinda (Nebes 2004: 273–281; Bukharin 2009: 64–80; Robin 2012: 59–129). Later on Kindah occurred in association with Maḏhig and the kings bear the title, *mlk kdt w-mḏḥgm* "king of Kiddat and Maḏḥigum" as in the case of Mālikum bin Muʿāwiyat, who seems to have been setteled also at Qaryat Ḏāt Kāhilum.

Apparently, towards the end of the 3rd century CE the political situation has been changed and the famous tribe Kindah dominated the area of Central Arabia and established Qaryat al-Faw as its capital and reached its high rank realm at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries CE. According to the Arabic sources, the Kindah seems to have comprised the bulk of the tribes of Central Arabia. It produced a certain unity among these tribes and dominated the region from northern Nağrān to Central Arabia. It was a nomadic tribal confederation and had a different than the organised states of ancient South Arabia (Shahid 1986: 118). Arabic sources relate genealogy of the tribe

Kindah to Kahlān b. Sabaʾ (Shahid 1986: 118; Robin 2012: 63 f.). Already in the 5th century CE, the power of Kindah had begun to fall down and early in the 6th century CE, the Kindite authority on Arab tribes collapsed. The last Kindah king, the famous poet Imruʾ al-Qays, became a fugitive (Mumayiz 2005: 135–151; Robin 2012: 77–80).

Our new inscription records a journey of Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat king of Kiddat and Maḏḥigum to Maʾrib. This is the first historical evidence of this king. Apparently, it was the custom that official visitors of the Sabaean and the Himyarite kings used to visit the Awām temple and perform an offering to Almaqah. The reason for the dedication of Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat seems to have been a part of the ceremonies when this king came to Maʾrib in order to achieve a peace accord with Šammar Yuharʿiš. This is expressed in our inscription as "to gain security by the performance of loyalty".

The visit of Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat was possibly an expression of a political loyalty, not only for the Šammar Yuharʿiš, but also for Almaqah. Of interest that the visit of the king Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat was in Maʾrib, which states that Maʾrib at the beginning of the Himyarite domination continue to be the political centre of the Himyarite kingdom or at least at the time of Šammar Yuharʿiš (ca. 287–312 CE). However, in this period Maʾrib as a capital of the kingdom of Sabaʾ lost gradually its role as a cultural and religious centre and Ẓafār, the capital of Himyarite kingdom took its position (Müller 1989: 559–567).

The visit of Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat king of Kiddat and Maḏḥigum to Maʾrib took place before the invasion of Hadramawt by Šammar Yuharʿiš since our inscription does not mention the long title of this king which known from other inscriptions as *mlk s¹bʾ w-ḏrydn w-ḥḍrmwt w-ymnt* "King of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān and Haḍramawt and Yamanat" (e.g. Ja 660/18–19). Accurately, the reign of Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat should have been fixed in the early reign period of Šammar Yuharʿiš, i.e. before bearing the long title and occupying Haḍramawt. This suggests that Mālikum son Muʿāwiyat might have governed between 290–295 CE (see also Robin 2012: 59, 65).

Our text is significant for establishing the relations between kingdom of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān and the Arab tribes of Central Arabia. In this case, this visit seems to have had the purpose to establish the alliance of Kiddat and Maḏḥiǧ with the Himyarite kingdom and was a preparation for occupation of Haḍramawt by the Himyarites of which Kiddat military contingents took part (Ir 13). Our new inscription proves that the kingdom of Kiddat was integrated within the kingdom of Šammar Yuharʿiš. However, during the reign of the Ḥimyarite king Šammar Yuharʿiš (ca. 287–312 CE), the kingdom of Kindah was integrated within the Ḥimyarite empire and contingents of Kindah are mentioned in inscriptions from this period (Sh 32).

Abbreviations and Sigla

ʿAbadān 1	Robin & Gajda 1994; Zwettler 2000: 230–238; Müller 2010: 50–54.
AFSM	American Foundation for the Study of Man.
CIAS	Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes, (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), Louvain, Peeters, 1977–1986.
CSAI	Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions, http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0 (accessed September 14, 2017)
DAI Barʾān 2000–2001	Nebes 2004.
DAM	Department of Archaeology Museum, King Saud University, Riyadh.
DAM 3 F 12	Al-Ghabban et al. 2010: no. 127.
DAM 2 F 12	Al-Ghabban et al. 2010: no. 128.
DAM 262 F 8	Al-Ghabban et al. 2010: no. 135.
DAM 302 F 8	Al-Ghabban et al. 2010: no. 136.
Ir	Inscriptions published in al-Iryānī 1990.
Ja	Inscriptions published in Jamme 1962.
Ja 2110	Doe & Jamme 1968.
Kortler 1/5–6	Müller 1978: 115–117.
Maʾsal 2	= Ry 510; Ryckmans G. 1953.
MB	Registration siglum of inscriptions discovered by the AFSM excavations at Maḥram Bilqīs (1998–2006).
MB 2006 I-24; MB 2005 I-43; MB 2006 I-24; MB 2004 I-127; MB 2004 I-163; 2005 I-104	The publication of these inscriptions is in preparation by the author of this paper.
Murayghān 1	= Ry 506; Ryckmans G. 1955; Müller 2010: 62.
NMR	National Museum, Riyadh
NMR 3 F 23	Al-Ghabban et al. 2010: no. 129
NMR 887	Al-Ghabban et al. 2010: no. 130
Sab. Dict.	Beeston et al. 1982
Sh 32	Inscriptions published in Sharafaddīn 2004; This inscription has been rediscovered by the AFSM in 2004.
Zayd ʿInān 11	Al-Iryānī 2005.

For further Abbreviations, sigla, and bibliography of cited inscriptions see Kitchen 2000 and CSAI.

References

Al-Ansari, A. 1982. *Qaryat al-Fau: A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia*. London: Croom Helm.

Al-Ansari, A. 2010. Qaryat al-Faw. Pages 311–317 in Al-Ghabban et al. 2010.

Al-Anṣārī, A. & Ṭayrān, S. 2008. Qaryat al-Faw "madīnat al-maʿābid". Pages 97–106 in in Al-Ansari, A.R., Muaikel, K.I. & Alsharekh, A.M., eds., *The City in the Arab World in light of archaeological discoveries: Evolution and development*, Riyadh: Adumatu, Abdul Rahman Al-Sudairy Foundation.

Beeston, A.F.L. 1979. "Nemara and Faw", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42: 1–6.

Beeston, A.F.L. 1986. The relation of Kinda with Sabaʾ and Himyar, appendix to Kinda. Page 120 in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition. Leiden: Brill.

Beeston, A.F.L., Ghul, M.A., Müller, W.W. & Ryckmans, J. 1982. *Sabaic Dictionary*. Louvain-la-Neuve and Beirut: Editions Peeters and Librairie du Liban.

Bukharin, M.D. 2009. Towards the earliest history of Kinda, *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 20: 64–80.

Doe, D.B. & Jamme, J. 1968. New Sabaean Inscriptions from South Arabia, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: 1–28.

Gajda, I. 1996. Ḥuǧr b. ʿAmr roi de Kinda et l'établissement de la domination ḥimyarite en Arabie centrale. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 26: 65–73.

Al-Ghabban, A. et al., eds. 2010. Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and history of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia; [exhibition "Roads of Arabia: archaeology and history of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia", Musée du Louvre, Paris 14 july–27 September, 2010]. Paris: Louvre Éditions; Paris: Somogy Art Publishers.

al-Iryānī, M. 1990. *Fī tārīḫ al-yaman. Nuqūš musnadiyyah wa- taʿlīqāt*, 2. Edition. Ṣanʿāʾ: Markaz ad-Dirāsāt wal-Buḥūṯ al-Yamanī.

Al-Iryānī, M. 2005. "Unshūda min Maḥram Bilqīs", *al-Thawabit* 41, July, Ṣanʿāʾ, 64–106.

Al-Jallad, A. 2014. On the genetic background of the Rbbl bn Hfʿm grave inscription at Qaryat al-Fāw, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77/3: 1–21.

Jamme, A. 1962. *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs* (*Mârib*), (Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man 3). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kitchen, K.A. 2000. *Documentation for Ancient Arabia*. Part II, Bibliographical Catalogue of Texts, (The world of Ancient Arabia Series). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Kropp, M. 1992. The Inscription Ghoneim AfO 27. 1980. A fortunate error, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 22: 55–67.

Macdonald, M.C.A. 2008. "Old Arabic (Epigraphic)". Pages 464–477 in Versteeg, K., ed., *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics* III. Leiden: Brill.

Maraqten, M. [Al-Maraqṭan] 2008. Al-ʿĀṣima as-sabaʾiyya Maʾrib: Dirāsa fī tārīḫihā wa-bunyatihā al-ʾidāriyya wal-ʾiǧtimāʿiyya fī ḍawʾ an-nuqūš as-sabaʾiyyah. Pages 107–144 in Al-Ansari, A.R., Muaikel, K.I. & Alsharekh, A.M., eds., *The City in the Arab World in light of archaeological discoveries: Evolution and development*, Riyadh: Adumatu, Abdul Rahman Al-Sudairy Foundation.

Maraqten, M. 2014. *Altsüdarabische Texte auf Holzstäbchen: Epigraphische und kulturhistorische Untersuchungen*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien 103). Beirut: Orient Institut; Würzburg: Ergon.

Maraqten, M. 2015. Sacred spaces in ancient Yemen—The Awām Temple, Maʾrib: A case study. Pages 109–135 in Arbach, M. & Schiettecatte, J., (eds.), *Proceedings of the 17e Rencontres Sabéennes: Pre-Islamic South Arabia and its Neighbours: New Developments of research* (British Foundation for the Study of Arabia Monographs No. 16, BAR International Series 2740). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Müller, W.W. 1978. Sabaische Felsinschriften von der jemenitischen Grenze zur Rubʿ al-Ḫālī. Pages 113–136 in *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, ed. by R. Degen, R., Röllig, W. & Müller, W.W. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrossowitz.

Müller, W.W. 1989. Mārib. Pages 559–567 in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd Edition, VI. Leiden: Brill.

Müller, W.W. 2010. *Sabäische Inschriften nach Ären datiert. Bibliographie, Texte und Glossar* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur—Mainz, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, 53). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Mumayiz, I. 2005. Imruʾ al-Qays and Byzantium, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 36/2: 135–151.

Nebes, N. 2004. Ein Feldzugsbericht des Šāʿirum ʾAwtar in einer neuen Widmungsinschrift aus dem Barʾān-Tempel. Pages 281–283 in Sedov, A. (ed.), *Scripta Yemenica. Issledovanija po Yuzhnoj Aravii. Sbornik nauchnyh statej v chestʿ 60-letija M.B. Piotrovskogo* (Maison d'éditions « Vostochnaja literatura », Académie des Sciences de Russie). Moscow: Vostochna.

Lecker, M. 1994. Kindah on the Eve of Islam and during the Ridda, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third séries, vol. 4: 333–356.

Retsö, J. 2003. *The Arabs in Antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*. London: Routledge Curzon.

Robin, Chr. 1996. Le Royaume Ḥujride, dit "royaume de Kinda", entre Ḥimyar et Byzance, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1996: 665–714.

Robin, Chr. 2001. Les inscriptions de l'Arabie Antique et les études Arabes, *Arabica* 48: 509–577.

Robin, Chr. 2012. Les rois de Kinda. Pages 59–129 in Al-Helabi, A., Letsios, D., Al-Moraekhi, M. & Al-Abduljabbar, A., (eds.), *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium: Cultural Contacts in Ancient and Medieval Times*, Part II. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Historical Relations between Arabia the Greek and Byzantine

World (5th century BC–10th century AD) Riyadh, 6–10 December, 2010. Riyadh 2012 / AH1433:

Robin, Chr. & Gajda, I. 1994. L'inscription du wādī ʿAbadān, *Raydān* 6: 113–137, 193–204.

Ryckmans, G. 1953. Inscription sud-arabes—Dixième série, *Le Muséon* 66: 267–317.

Ryckmans, G. 1955. Inscriptions sud-arabes. Douzième série, *Le Muséon* 68: 297–312.

AlSekaf, A.A. 1985. *La geographie tribale du Yemen antique*, (Dissertation, Paris III), Paris.

Shahid, I. 1986. Kinda. Pages 118–120 in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition V. Leiden: Brill.

Sharafaddīn, A. 2004. *Tārīḫ al-Yaman aṯ-ṯaqāfī*, al-Qāhia: Maṭbaʿat al-kīlānī aṣ-ṣaġīr, 1967. Ṣanʿāʾ: Ǧāmiʿat Ṣanʿāʾ [reprint 2004].

Sima, A. 2001. Altsüdarabisch lb "Herz", yd "Hand" und lsn "Zunge", *Acta Orientalia* 62: 65–80.

az-Zabīdī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā. *Tāǧ al-ʿarūs min ǧawāhir al-qāmūs*, 40 vols, Kuwait: Maṭbaʿat Ḥukūmat al-Kuwait, 1965–2001.

Zwettler, M. 2000. Maʿadd in Late-Ancient Arabian Epigraphy and other pre-Islamic sources, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 90: 223–307.